2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

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Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

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Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

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## The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

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During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

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In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

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1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest.

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead.

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people.

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

## Protestantism

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Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico do Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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*Negros novos* were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129. [78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.* [88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E g, the *mamelucos* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

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Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage."

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Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state.

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Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

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noted in two Protestant churches, one Baptist, the other Presbyterian. Of a total of 157 worshipers, 27.4 per cent were blacks, 29.9 per cent were mulattoes, and 42.7 per cent were whites, seated indiscriminately, in each case.

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Although 104 of 130 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to receiving the sacrament from a black priest, priests and pastors are usually white, only occasionally mulatto (ordinarily light), and very rarely black. For instance, of 43 priests officiating at Mass, 42, or 98 per cent, were white, and 1 was a mulatto, quite light. Of 60 novices at the Seminary of Santa Thereza, only 7 were mulattoes, 1 very dark.[20] Of the 2 Protestant pastors, 1 was white, the other a dark mulatto. In the latter's audience were over a score of whites.

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Altar boys are often mulattoes, occasionally blacks. For instance, of 70 altar boys seen assisting with Mass, 35, or 50 per cent, were whites; 3 were *brancos da Bahia;* 20, or 28.6 per cent, were mulattoes; and 11, or 15.7 per cent, were blacks.

A similarly mixed participation may be noted in meetings of the spiritualist cult. At a session of the União Espirita Bahiana, for instance, of 73 persons present, 20 were blacks, 26 were mulattoes, and 27 were whites.[21] Among the leaders gathered about a table in front of the audience, 2 were whites, 2 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a mulatto, and 2 were blacks.

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In noting the circumstances under which the Brazilian racial accommodation has taken and is taking place, one ought not to overlook the fact that Catholic ideas and practice, permeating as they do very largely the whole moral order at

[20] One *mameluco*, 52 whites. [21] Also 1 *cafuso*.

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Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic church, by emphasizing ritual, centers attention *outside the individual* upon common objects; while the Protestant churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention *upon the individual*, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases *group*-consciousness.

The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals. For it is through his participation in the community that the individual in the Catholic view gains recognition as a person. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the individual. It is by reason of his inherent worth that the community in which he participates gains meaning in the Protestant ideology.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its points of difference with all the others and tends to be divisive in its attitude toward the others. Obviously, a sect (which is by its very nature a conflict group) can in no other way live. The Catholic procedure lays a premium upon solidarity, while the Protestant lays a premium upon diversity.

Indicative of race relations among the younger generation at Bahia is the behavior of three groups of children who were observed playing together in Campo Grande. Aged approximately four to fifteen years, they were hilariously enjoying themselves. When first noted, there were at the "giant stride" 4 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 2 whites. At the teeter-totter were 1 black, 9 mulattoes, and 15 whites. At

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* [177] have not entirely escaped some Indian influence.

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With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93-94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning.

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

[SALVADOR]

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829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against 829 *563 578 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. [443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension [152] is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid [458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be- [579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two [261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

• 795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most 798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious 62 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

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social cohesion of the community (1).

1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane: the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."